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Being ready to depart, the great Giaga staid us, and desired our boat to pass his men over the river Cova, for he determined to overrun the realm of Benguele, which was on the north side of the river Cova. So we went with him to his camp, which was very orderly, intrenched with piles of wood; we had houses provided for us that night, and many burthens (loads) of palm-wine, cows, goats, and flour.

In the morning before day, the general did strike his *gongo*, which is an instrument of war that soundeth like a bell, and presently made an oration with a loud voice, that all the camp might hear, that he would destroy the Benguelas, with such courageous and vehement speeches as were not to be looked for among the heathen people. And presently they were all in arms, and marched to the river side, where he had provided Gingados.[1] And being ready with our boat and Gingados, the general was fain to beat them back because of the credit who should be first. We carried over eighty men at once, and with our muskets we beat the enemy off, and landed, but many of them were slain. By twelve of the clock all the Gagas were over.

Then the general commanded all his drums, *tavales*, *petes*, *pongos*, and all his instruments of warlike music to strike up, and gave the onset, which was a bloody day for the Benguelas. These Benguelas presently broke, and turned their backs, and a very great number of them were slain, and were taken captives, man, woman and child. The prince, Hombiangymbe, was slain, which was ruler of this country, and more than one hundred of his chief lords, and their heads presented and thrown at the feet of the great Gaga. The men, women and children that were brought in captive alive, and the dead corpses that were brought to be eaten, were strange to behold. For these Gagas are the greatest cannibals and man-eaters that be in the world, for they feed chiefly upon man's flesh (notwithstanding of their) having all the cattle of that country.

They settled themselves in this country and took the spoil of it. We had great trade with these Gagas, five months, and gained greatly by them. . . .

In these five months' space we made three voyages to the city of San Paul, and coming the fourth time we found them not.[2]

On a subsequent voyage Battell was left by 'the Portugals and Mulattos' as a hostage among the 'Benguelas', whence he escaped to 'the Great Gaga', living in his camp and helping to fight his battles during twenty-one months. His description of the life and customs of which he was a daily witness are of great interest, and

[1] 'Gingado', elsewhere spelt 'Iergado', is evidently a misprint for *Jangada*, Portuguese for 'raft'.

[2] Ravenstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 19 ff.

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eighteenth, and much of the nineteenth century, then, was the slave-trade.

Most of the historical treatises on Angola are little more than chronological lists of battles and expeditions. The relation of these events to the main facts, i.e. to the economic facts, has rarely been made. Two or three presídios were founded with the hope of controlling nearby mineral deposits,[1] whether real or supposed, but all the rest were intended as spearheads for trade or to protect existing trade. Many of the military expeditions were raids with an obvious end in view; others were rearguard actions to protect a more or less successful raid of the same sort; others were retaliations for reprisals or vice versa. Practically all of the soldiers who were free men, from the captain-general down, were also traders, and some who were not free were traders on account of others. There may have been a few expeditions which had less immediate connexion with trade, for there were genuine explorers in those early days, even as more recently.

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There would be little interest or profit in cataloguing the military expeditions which had, or seem to have had, contact with the Ovimbundu or with their predecessors in the land during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There were only a very few of real significance. During the seventeenth century many raids were made from Massangano across Libolo to the edge of or into the Benguela Highland, and likewise there were many actions between the garrisons of Benguela and Caconda and the inhabitants of the plateau. In 1607 Balthazar Rebello de Aragão set out to cross Africa and had to turn back after going eighty leagues, but his own report was so scanty that even the direction he took cannot be determined.[2] In 1645, while the Dutch controlled Luanda and the coast, there was a raid which was said to have reached Bailundu.[3] The very scanty references to this raid give no description of the inhabitants, but since there seems to be no Bailundu tradition with regard to it, I conclude that the present dynasty (beyond the establishment of which tradition hardly goes) must have been founded since that date. About 1650 there was a raid across Libolo as far as the Keve River which found a cattle-rearing

[1] e.g. Benguela Velha and Cambambe.

[2] L. Cordeiro (ed.), 1593–1620, *Terras e minas africanas segundo Balthazar Rebello de Aragão*, p. 15.

[3] *Catálogo dos Governadores*, p. 374; Lopes de Lima, *Ensaios*, part i, p. 99.

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people living there,[1] which also leads me to conclude that the Ovimbundu as we now know them were not there at that date.

About 1661 there was an expedition from Benguela in order to restore a native ally, the 'Iaga Caconda', against an 'intruding Iaga' who used fire-arms.[2] This is the first record of fire-arms in native hands in the hinterland of Benguela. Muskets and powder were sold from the time of Luanda's founding (1576),[3] but not all tribes took to them quickly.[4] If fire-arms were already in use by natives in the Benguela hinterland in 1661, it is most probable that the founders of the present Umbundu dynasties had them when they came to the country. The first presídio of Caconda was built in 1680, destroyed soon after, and rebuilt nearby in 1685. This was at four or five days' journey from Benguela but not on the Plateau nor within the present Umbundu area. The third presídio, known as Caconda-Nova, was built at its present site in 1769. Most writers have supposed this fort to have been built at its present site in 1685, overlooking the fact that there were not two sites but three.[5]

European Influences 1770–1840. The governor who effected the final moving of Caconda on to the Plateau, D. Francisco de Souza Coutinho, also undertook many other reforms designed to better the economic state of the colony. He brought something of the intentions of the great Marquez de Pombal to this remote tropical dependency. He seems to have been the first governor of Angola to realize the immense superiority of the Benguela Highland,

[1] Cadornega, op. cit., vol. ii, pp. 42–6.

[2] Cadornega, op. cit., p. 176 f. It is of interest that according to this author (1680) this expedition passed the Bay then known as 'Catumbella of Salt Water' or 'Catumbella of the Oysters'. Jaspert made the error of stating that this Bay (Lobito) was 'discovered by the English' about 1900!

[3] Garcia Mendes Castello Branco (1620) protested against allowing this traffic (*Da Mina ao Cabo Negro*, p. 25).

[4] In 1790 the Ovimbundu used fire-arms very well, but the 'Ganguellas' had not then adopted their use (*Annaes Mar. e Col., 5a Ser.*, p. 489).

[5] Lopes de Lima (*Ensaios*) made this error (or omission), and more recent writers have perhaps erred by following him. The correct accounts are given in the *Catálogo dos Governadores*, pp. 396 ff., 416 ff. (also to be found in *Arquivos de Angola*, vol. iii, pp. 507 f., 528). The facts are most clearly brought out by the governor of the District of Benguela in reporting a visit made to Caconda. He gives a short history of the presídio and tells of having seen the ruins of the earlier forts (*Districto de Benguella 1892*, Lisboa, 1894). The report to the Ministry in Lisbon of the governor, D. Francisco Inocencio de Souza Coutinho, explaining (among other things) the moving of this presídio, and dated 18 Oct. 1769, has been published in *Arquivos de Angola*, vol. i, no. 1 (Oct. 1933).

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foreign buccaneers and other contraband trade in the unoccupied ports of the Congo, Loango, &c. He therefore removed the prohibition[1] and counted on the appointment of captains-major to keep the peace. From this time the hinterlands were legally open to traders—to all Portuguese subjects whether white, black, or brown.

Though the hinterlands were now legally open to all traders, life was not thereby made any easier for them than it had been previously for the 'barefoot traders'[2] who had carried on most of the trade hitherto. Once they went beyond the range of the guns of a presídio, they entered what were practically foreign countries which recognized no European principles of law or of conduct. Those who could afford it built themselves small fortresses and manned them with their slaves. Even so, they had to become vassals and feudatories of some native king and pay tribute according to his good pleasure. Those traders who could not afford such an establishment led a very precarious existence, nor could they long maintain a status above that of the natives of the region. Many of these early traders and their descendants were subsequently incorporated into the Umbundu stock, and in some instances whole communities of them.[3] For one reason or another this increased commercial contact led to further wars with the natives. The war of this period which made the greatest impression upon the Ovimbundu was the campaign of 1774–6, to which allusion has already been made.[4] Memories of this war and of the capture of their respective kings have been preserved in the traditions of Bailundu and of Ndulu,[5] and it also seems that these two peoples learned, for a time at least, that it was safer and more profitable to trade with the Europeans than to raid their establishments. Ciyaka and the neighbouring groups do not seem to have followed suit, for they continued to raid the forts of Caconda, Quilengues, and Huila until fairly recent times; nor do Europeans seem to have penetrated Ciyaka for residence until almost the turn of the present century. But in all the Umbundu kingdoms life

[1] Report of 9 May 1765 in *Arquivos de Angola*, vol. i, nos. 5 and 6.

[2] i.e. native African trading agents.

[3] I have genealogical tables and family histories of some of the present-day descendants. The mixed origin of communities in Kakonda has been noted by several writers. A noteworthy example in Viye is the region called Kamundongo—an old Ndongo (Angola) settlement.

[4] *Supra*, pp. 166, 171, 174.

[5] *Supra*, pp. 170, 171.

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continued to be difficult for the traders, subject as they were to the conditions of primitive custom and belief.[1]

About the time of the above-mentioned military campaign, events took a turn which in the end greatly advanced commercial life in Viye. I refer to the restoration of Kangombe to his 'stool' with the help of the governor, Dom Antonio de Lancastre.[2] This alliance with the Portuguese government was maintained by Kangombe's successors until 1890. In 1782, and perhaps even in 1770, there were so many Portuguese residents that a 'Captain-major and exterior judge of Bihe' was appointed,[3] a post which seems to have been maintained until Silva Porto's suicide in 1890.

Reference has already been made to an account by Paulo Martins Pinheiro de Lacerda, who evidently lived in Ngalangi and in Wambu about 1790,[4] but although this man wrote a good deal about native life, he had little to say about trade, although it was perhaps his own livelihood. I have accounts of two trading expeditions from Benguela to the country of 'Lovar' or 'Lovale' at the head-waters of the Zambezi in 1794 and 1795, undertaken by Alexandre de Silva Teixeira and Jozé da Silva Costa at the instigation of a slave originally from that region.[5] They passed through Bailundu and Viye, but mentioned these regions only to say that the road was already well known to all backwoodsmen (traders). All available evidence seems to indicate that before the close of the eighteenth century the Ovimbundu were becoming, if they had not already become, traders. If trade had not yet taken first place over raiding and warfare, at least it was well-established in their habits of life. Bailundu tradition says that the first traders to offer cloth and beads and fire-arms for slaves and ivory were the Ndongo, the 'barefoot traders' (*pombeiros descalços*). This was doubtless during the very early days of the eighteenth century, or

[1] Silva Porto's diaries, although referring to a later time, give a good description of difficulties faced (op. cit.). *Soc. Geog. Lisboa, 5a Ser.*

[2] Governor and captain-general, 1772–9. He was the immediate successor of D. Francisco de Souza Coutinho.

[3] For this appointment, which may not have been the first, and the duties of the office, see *Annaes Mar. e Col., 6a Ser.*, p. 118. I have the names of subsequent appointees, and for four of them the following dates of appointment, respectively—1791, 1819, 1838, 1885; also of one previous appointee in 1770 or 1771.

[4] *Supra*, p. 188.

[5] *Arquivos de Angola*, vol. i, no. 4 (Nov. 1935); *Annaes Mar. e Col., 4a Ser.* (1844), p. 159 f.

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times, which is a sure sign of his greatness in Umbundu estimation. Ekuikui's reign marked the end of an era and the beginning of another, not only for the people of Bailundu, but for all the Ovimbundu. The rubber trade had begun just before he came to the stool and his reign saw its intensive development. Tradition is probably right in placing the beginning of intensive agricultural pursuits during Ekuikui's time, for the great development of trade, need for rations for the long journeys, and a market for foodstuffs at the coast provided the necessary stimulus to cultivate beyond immediate seasonal need. Ekuikui carried on the tradition of warfare[1] which was so large a part of his ancestral heritage, but he had the good sense to attempt no large-scale operations either against his relatively powerful Ovimbundu confrères, or against European establishments. There was plenty of provocation[2] and no lack of warlike counsel, but he probably realized that the tenor of the times was against such operations. Had his contemporaries of Viye and his own successors been possessed of equal good sense, the Ovimbundu might have been saved some very difficult times and not a little bloodshed. The military occupation of Viye came about in 1890, after a disastrous war brought on by foolishly high-handed treatment on the part of King Ndunduma[3] and his counsellors of a little expedition bound for the interior under Captain Paiva Couceiro, and of Silva Porto,[4] resulting in the suicide of the latter. The ruler and people of Viye relied on a largely magical defence against Boer sharpshooters and Portuguese field artillery with Krupp guns. When finally Ndunduma came in and gave himself up[5] he was exiled to São Tiago in the Cape Verde Islands,

[1] For King Ekuikui's wars see *Missionary Herald*, 1882, p. 225; 1883, p. 339; 1884, pp. 145 f., 504; 1885, pp. 279, 355, 375; 1889, p. 67; 1890, p. 292.

[2] See op. cit., 1886, pp. 228 f., 452, 508.

[3] *Ndunduma* (Thunderer) was the name assumed by Cikunyu when he took office after a *coup d'état* in 1888 (see *Missionary Herald*, 1889, p. 242 f.).

[4] Antonio Francisco Ferreira da Silva Porto, appointed 'Captain-major and exterior judge' of Bihe in 1885. He had authority only over the European residents, but he knew the country and people well and had tried to bring about a peaceful occupation of the country; neither the Government in Benguela nor the native authorities, however, would take his advice. His suicide brought the importance of the Umbundu country to the fore, and he became a Portuguese national hero.

[5] It was the Rev. W. H. Sanders, in charge of Kamundongo Mission Station, who sought Ndunduma and got him to surrender in order to avoid further slaughter. For a report of this 'war' see *Relatorio do Districto de Benguella*, 1891, pp. 12–14; also *Missionary Herald*, 1891, pp. 47, 63 f., 88, 108 f.; Dr. J. Johnston, *Romance versus Reality in South Central Africa*, pp. 59–63. F. S. Arnot (*Bihe*

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and the country settled down to the rule of 'the Fort' with Ndunduma's successor named by the captain-major. The occupation of Bailundu was effected at that same time,[1] while Ekuikui yet ruled, but for several years only a nominal force was employed.[2] In 1896 Ekuikui's successor, Numa II, attacked the fort, and the captain-major burned the *ombala*[3] in retaliation. From 1890 European traders settled in both Viye and Bailundu in ever-increasing numbers.[4] Then came the 'Bailundu War' of 1902,[5] after which the occupation of the whole Umbundu country was quickly completed.

The operations of 1890 had only interrupted the ivory trade. The campaign of 1902 completely paralysed trade in and with the interior, and greatly aggravated a depression which the District of Benguela was feeling because of a fall from the high prices which rubber had enjoyed in 1898–9.[6] After the war it seemed that trade would soon regain its former levels, and the export statistics show that for a time it did so, but closer inspection and a consideration of other factors which entered into the situation show that this was the beginning of the end. The price of rubber never regained its former level, so that the high value of exports reported represents an even larger quantity than before. The increased quantity largely represented a greatly debased product, for the native traders and producers understood nothing

and Garenganze, pp. 19–23) also wrote of these incidents but with more of the personal element and perhaps less accuracy.

[1] *Relatorio, Benguella*, 1892, p. 13 f.

[2] In 1892 there were 2 soldiers in Bailundu, 135 in Viye, 21 in Caconda (*Benguella*, op. cit., 1891, p. 15). Bailundu tradition says that (native) soldiers were first brought in disguised as porters with loads of goods.

[3] *Ombala*, capital village.

[4] A. Bastos, op. cit., pp. 36, 43.

[5] This war was named in Umbundu after the Bailundu war leader, *Mutu ya Kevela*. He is named among the kings, but it was only during the war that he assumed power. The immediate causes were excesses on the part of European residents against the natives, especially in connexion with 'the recruiting of contract labour'. The best work on the subject is in the nature of a report written by the man who was then governor, Cabral Moncada, *A Campanha do Bailundo* (Luanda 1903). General ideas may be had from *Missionary Herald*, 1902, pp. 353, 400, 452 f., 520 f.; 1903, pp. 22 f., 69 f., 122, 211 f.; H. W. Nevinson, op. cit., p. 157 f.; and J. T. Tucker, *Drums in the Darkness*, p. 122 f. The account given by Keiling (*Quarenta Anos de Africa*) is of interest for certain details of this war, but its statements are inaccurate and its judgements unreliable. The missionaries sought to dissuade the natives from taking up arms, and once the fighting had begun they provided medical services for both sides and sent food-supplies to the garrison of the beleaguered Portuguese fort.

[6] A. Bastos, op. cit., p. 39 f.

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The coastal strip
131 484 was at times traversed by the Ovimbundu who know of the sea and call it *kalunga*. Bihéan caravans crossed to the coast with slaves, as history shows, but the nature of the coastal strip marks it as a western barrier limiting the expansion of the Ovimbundu in that direction. The coast line itself is of the greatest moment in the consideration of historical factors. From Loanda, Benguela, and [177] Mossamedes on the coast, the Portuguese penetrated the interior, so making contacts with the Ovimbundu to the encouragement of caravan trade. The importance of this European contact will be seen in subsequent chapters.

The south and southwest parts of Angola are of particular importance in studying the contacts of the Ovimbundu, but to give here the details of the wealthy cattle-keeping culture of these regions, which were accessible through peaceful proximity, trade, and occasional raiding, would be an anticipation of chapter X, "Culture Contacts." [723] One topographical point is of primary importance; namely, the ease with which the Ovimbundu could descend from their strongholds to the low-lying land of the west and south, whereas the reverse journey is much more difficult for a people unaccustomed to manoeuvring and finding their way among hills.

101 Having described the northern, central, western, and southern areas, there remains only the eastern section to consider; this presents several features of peculiar geographical and ethnological interest. [133] The eastern section of Angola is either slightly undulating or flat, the general characteristic is dryness, and vegetation is somewhat [136] sparse though sufficient to shelter many kinds of antelope.

The major population is the Vachokue, a warlike, hunting people, who follow agricultural pursuits but slightly, and do not keep cattle. Examination of the literature describing early exploration indicates •[126] the truculent nature of these eastern people with whom caravans of Ovimbundu were in frequent conflict. Umbundu caravans crossed this country when making their way to Rhodesia, culture contacts with which are discussed in chapter X.

The results of contact of Ovimbundu and Vachokue tribes, so far as physical miscegenation is concerned, are mentioned in chapter "Physical Appearance"; while the social effects of slavery resulting from hostilities are described in chapter VI, "Social Life."

174 231 Rhodesia is a cattle-raising country, but the hostility of the Vachokue, the great distance from central Angola to Rhodesia, and the general dryness of the country to be crossed, discourage the idea that the Ovimbundu obtained their cattle from Rhodesia. If it is

686 actually paid to redeem his brother and sister who were sold to pay the debts of his maternal uncle. Officialdom is one thing and actual [177] practice is another. Ngonga is right when he says that people appeal to the native law as laid down by the chief or king. If they are not satisfied they pretend a great respect for Portuguese law and therefore go to the Administrador.

WARFARE AND SLAVERY

648 726 The Ovimbundu have been for centuries an organized people possessed of a well-developed language, a legal system, and complex social organization. In trade and travel too, the Ovimbundu have been in the vanguard of African tribes. These reasons, in conjunction with the fact of numerical superiority and early contact with the Portuguese, would account for the success of the Ovimbundu in warfare. The defensive federations existing between the ten or twelve main political units, whereby they did not habitually war on each other, helped to assure success. Should the eldest son of a king's [643] principal wife be thought unsuitable as successor, a competent son of the deceased king was elected by a council of village chiefs.

411 There is no evidence that the Ovimbundu poisoned their weapons, neither do they do so today. The Ovimbundu do not use a shield at the present time, neither is it certain that they had shields in former times. A skin-covered powder-box was carried in the king's train when on the warpath.

718 Signaling-drums were about two feet long. They were made from a cylinder of wood over the ends of which skin was stretched. Signaling, which was accomplished by drumming with the palms of the hands, was the task of boys who resided in the king's compound, except when they accompanied him to war or on a trading journey. There was no system of smoke signaling. The iron war gong was named *ongonge*, but the instrument is nowadays tapped by the assistant of a medicine-man during his performance. In former times the gong was struck in the night to give assurance that the enemy was not in sight.

726 In war the oldest son of a king or of a chief went ahead of the war party accompanied by a few men who wore red leaves on their foreheads.

721 Intertribal jealousies, raiding for cattle and slaves, also reprisals for interference with caravan trade, were the chief causes of conflict with surrounding peoples. There was undoubtedly some internal warfare within the confederacy. The Ovimbundu of Elende, Bail-

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

undu, and Ngalangi are said to have had conflicts. In time past, as at the present day, a king reigned over territory which was extensive but definitely delimited for purposes of administration. Encroachment of one king on the rights of taxation and administration of another led to raids and reprisals. Village chiefs collected taxes in the form of agricultural produce and gave these to the king, who personally visited a village from which payments had not been made. A folklore story begins, "The people had not paid taxes so the king came to the village and told them a parable."

A king, if young, accompanied his people on the warpath. There was, however, a permanent leader named *kesongo*, a derivative from *songola* ("to lead"). The declaration of war, likewise the tactics, were discussed by a council of *olosekulu* ("village chiefs") in the *ombala* ("capital") where the king had, and still has, a royal compound. If war had been conducted among sections of the Ovimbundu, the defeated people had to pay taxes and tribute; moreover, their women and cattle were taken. In event of a successful war against the Vachokue there was plundering of cattle and women, but it was not found practicable to exact periodical payments from the enemy.

The subject of warfare is intimately related to that of slavery. There was until very recent times a domestic slavery which followed from the inability of a person to pay his debts. In connection with this reduction of free persons to a condition of slavery there are several points of exceptional interest. The debtor himself is not taken as a slave, neither are his wife or children. The correct procedure is a sale of his sister's children; but more frequently the children themselves are taken by the creditor. "The debtor's sister will say nothing because this is the law of the Ovimbundu." If payment of the debt is made later, the children are set free. Usually the word pawning is used by ethnologists to describe this proceeding.

Further consideration of Ngonga's payment to his mother's brother clarifies the facts of domestic slavery. "I paid for them, I took their place," said my interpreter. The payment for the return of these two children was two oxen. The girl, who was ten years of age when she was taken to pay the debt, was returned to her people when she was a woman with three children. Ngonga's brother was not actually taken from his home. He was made to pay his mother's brother's debt by working for the creditor. In general, these domestic slaves were not ill treated, though their rights were limited. The position of slaves taken from a hostile

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534 Another musical bow named *ekolowa* is of simple construction, consisting of a strip of cane from 54 to 70 cm long and 2 cm wide. At each end of the cane is a projection. A string, when tightly stretched between these projections, pulls the cane into the form of a bow. The performer, placing one end of the bow in his mouth, plucks the string with his thumb and forefinger (Plate XXII, Fig. 7).

Two rubbing instruments are used by the Ovimbundu. *Ogolanda* is a large gourd with a slit in the top along which there is a board cut into sixteen notches. The rubbing of a short stick along these notches produces a sound which is greatly amplified by the gourd resonator. The second instrument of this type is in the form of a wooden bow having its thickest part notched for rubbing with a stick (Plate XXII, Figs. 3, 8).

533 Only specialists are skilled in composing songs, and both men and women are composers. The younger people sometimes go to the old people to learn songs which were popular a generation ago. There are no professional itinerant story-tellers.

There is a chant for funerals which has been quoted in the appropriate section, but no special wedding songs are used. The Ovimbundu have satirical songs humorously describing individual [626] foibles and peculiarities, and as usual in Negro communities a satirical song is feared by thieves, adulterers, or other offenders.

[726] In former days when men were on the warpath they sang, *Okaimbo ketu katito eteke tu lisanumbula tu tandako.* ("Our village is little today, we attack, we extend.") Another war song is *Ocisonde ci likoka ove o kasi vonjila tumdamo.* ("Red ant that creeps along, you who are in the way, get out.")

[484] When men on the march came to a camping ground occupied by another caravan, they sang as a challenge, *Cinene nye? Cinene onjamba kakuli okachama kavela ukuavo.* ("What is the largest? There is no animal largest. The largest is the elephant.")

During hauling and carrying, men sing, *Yende, yende chale, ocimboto lomala vaco.* ("Let it go, let it go, the crab, the frog, with its children.")

482 Lifting loads is always accompanied by noises which suggest that someone is injured. Part of the men make deep grunts to which their companions answer with prolonged groans.

INITIATION

867 Evidence bearing on initiatory rites in Angola shows that the 881 ceremonies are arranged as a process of incorporation into the